

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00112 01 OF 02 111148Z

12

ACTION H-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-07 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 NSC-06 RSC-01 /027 W

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P 111005Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0864

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0112

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (BRADEMAS, JOHN; SARBANES, PAUL)

SUBJECT: CODEL VISIT TO CYPRUS, JANUARY 9-10

REF: NICOSIA 0108

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE DELAY FROM LANDING ACCIDENT, CODEL HAD SMOOTH VISIT TO CYPRUS. MET MAKARIOS, DENKTASH, CLERIDES, REFUGEE GROUPS. HEAVY PUBLICITY BUT NO FORMAL PRESS CONFERENCES. CODEL VOICED IN PUBLIC MILD CRITICISM OF USG CYPRUS POLICY, BUT GENERAL TONE WAS OF COMING TO LEARN CYPRUS SITUATION FIRST-HAND. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER DELAYED ARRIVAL NICOSIA DUE AIRCRAFT LANDING ACCIDENT, CODEL HAD SMOOTH, THOUGH HURRIED 20-HOUR VISIT TO CYPRUS. GOC ASSURED HEAVY PRESS AND MEDIA COVERAGE. IN RESPONSE CODEL REQUEST, EMBASSY ALSO SET UP PICTORIAL COVERAGE OF VISIT. SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, LOGISTICS WENT WELL. NO UNTOWARD INCIDENTS OF ANY KIND.

3. CODEL GAVE NO FORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE BUT HAD SEVERAL BRIEF EXCHANGES WITH MEDIA DURING VISIT (REF FBIS TA092045Z). GENERAL THRUST OF MEDIA COVERAGE, BASED LARGELY ON CODEL STATEMENTS HERE AND IN ATHENS, IS THAT CODEL WORKING FOR A

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PAGE 02 NICOSI 00112 01 OF 02 111148Z

"JUST" USG POLICY ON CYPRUS, ALSO TO SENSITIZE ADMINISTRATION

TO CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION TO PRESENT CYPRUS POLICY A
HARSH
TRUTHS OF REFUGEE PROBLEM.

4. CODEL CALLED ON MAKARIOS, DENKTASH, CLERIDES. (FULL MEMCONS
BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT FOR FORWARDING, PER CODEL REQUEST.)
CODEL BREAKFASTED WITH STELLA SOULIOTOU, PRESIDENT CYPRUS RED
CROSS; MET WITH COMMITTEES OF MISSING AND ENCLAVED PERSONS;
VISTED TWO REFUGEE CAMPS IN LARNACA AREA. TIME CONSTRAINTS
FORCED CODEL TO DROP VISIT KYRENIA/KARAVAS, WHICH DENKTASH IN
RESPONSE TO EMBASSY REQUEST HAD PERSONALLY ARRANGED ON SHORT
NOTICE. LOCAL TENSIONS AT PARAMALI CAMP FORCED CANCELLATION OF
VISIT TO SBA WHERE TURK CYPRIOT REFUGEES ARE HOUSED.

5. CALL ON MAKARIOS. ON ARRIVAL NICOSIA EVENING JANUARY 9,
CODEL CALLED ON ARCHBISHOP.

A. FOLLOWING INITIAL PLEASANTRIES MAKARIOS DELIVERED
LONG, ELOQUENT SOLILOQUY ON NEED FOR AMERICAN RELIEF/
REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR
JUST SOLUTION. NOTING THAT "WE (SIC) NOW HAVE A BIG
MAJORITY IN CONGRESS," MAKARIOS URGED NONE TOO SUBTLELY
THAT USG APPLY PRESSURE ("I DON'T LIKE THIS WORD BUT MY ENGLISH
IS POOR AND I CAN FIND NO OTHER...") AGAINST TURKS TO ACHIEVE
FULL RETURN OF REFUGEE POPULATION AND REDUCTION OF TURKISH
CONTROLLED AREA IN PROPORTION TO TURK CYPRIOT POPULATION.
MAKARIOS SAID A CYPRUS DIVIDED INTO TWO REGIONS WOULD SOW SEEDS
FOR PARTITION AND FUTURE WAR; HE WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT FEDERATION
WHEREBY TURKS WOULD RECEIVE FOUR CANTONS IN NORTH; TURKS IN
SOUTH POSED NO PROBLEM; THEY COULD STAY UNDER GREEK ADMINISTRA-
TION OR MOVE NORTH TO CANTONS AS THEY WISHED. ESSENTIAL
WAS THAT ALL GREEK CYPRIOTS RETURN TO THEIR OWN HOMES AS QUICKLY
AS POSSIBLE. TO FACILITATE THIS MAKARIOS SUGGESTED THAT US
CONGRESS MIGHT SEE WAY CLEAR TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR 10,000
HOUSES FOR TURK CYPRIOTS FOR RESETTLEMENT IN NORTH.

B. ON NEGOTIATIONS, CLERIDES HAS BEEN GIVEN FRAMEWORK WITHIN
WHICH HE MAY MOVE; IT WAS GRATIFYING THAT TURKS HAVE AGREED
TO POLITICAL TALKS BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF THEY ARE
SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN SETTLEMENT.
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PAGE 03 NICOSI 00112 01 OF 02 111148Z

C. ON GUARANTEES AND USG ROLE, MAKARIOS SAID
THAT TURK CYPRIOTS ALREADY HAVE THEIR GUARANTEE IN FORM OF
TURKEY 40 MILES AWAY, AS PROVED BY SUMMER'S EVENTS, AND
THAT REAL QUESTION IS GUARANTOR FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS. GREECE
ITSELF INEFFECTIVE AND PREOCCUPIED WITH OTHER PROBLEMS; BRITAIN
WEAK AND NO LONGER INTERESTED. KEY IS UNITED STATES,
WHICH MUST TAKE LEAD IN ARRANGING SOLUTION AND THEN IN MAKING

SURE IT HOLDS. THIS POINT STRESSED SEVERAL TIMES. HE WOULD NOT BE PINNED DOWN ON POTENTIAL GUARANTEE ROLE FOR US AND USSR BUT GAVE IMPRESSION THAT HE DID NOT SEEK INTIMATE USSR INVOLVEMENT. WHILE MAKARIOS MADE SEVERAL MILDLY ACERBIC REMARKS REGARDING SECRETARY KISSINGER, HIS CONCLUDING MESSAGE THIS SUBJECT, MADE AT CODEL'S REQUEST, WAS EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN SECRETARY'S UNDERSTANDING OF CYPRUS PROBLEM AND SINCERE DEDICATION TO FINDING PROMPT, JUST SOLUTION.

6. COMMITTEES OF ENCLAVED, MISSING PERSONS. LATER SAME EVENING, CODEL MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF PANCYPRIAN COMMITTEE OF REFUGEES, PANCYPRIAN COMMITTEE OF ENCLAVED PERSONS, PANCYPRIAN COMMITTEE OF ENCLAVED PERSONS IN KARPASS PENINSULA, PANCYPRIAN COMMITTEE OF MISSING PERSONS. EACH GROUP MADE PRESENTATION ON FATE OF GREEK CYPRIOTS IN NORTHERN ZONE. CODEL RECEIVED PETITIONS, OTHER LITERATURE; PROMISED TO ENLIGHTEN AMERICAN PUBLIC RE THESE PROBLEMS, WHICH QUITE DISTINCT FROM MORE DRAMATIC ISSUE OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES IN SOUTH.

7. CALL ON DENKTASH (REF FBIS TA101116Z). CODEL, FOLLOWING BREAKFAST WITH RED CROSS PRESIDENT JANUARY 10, CALLED ON VP DENKTASH.

A. TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER COVERED FAMILIAR POINTS, OUTLINING AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH TURKISH VERSION OF CYPRIOT HISTORY FROM 1955 TO PRESENT. HE PUT PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON JUSTIFICATION FOR THIS SUMMER'S TURKISH INTERVENTION. QUESTIONED CLOSELY BY CODEL, DENKTASH ARGUED THAT SECOND TURKISH OPERATION WAS IN RESPONSE TO GREEK EFFORTS STALL NEGOTIATIONS WHILE BRINGING IN MILITARY REINFORCEMENTS AND SUBJUGATING TURKISH COMMUNITY OUTSIDE MAIN NICOSIA ENCLAVE.
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PAGE 01 NICOSI 00112 02 OF 02 111148Z

12

ACTION H-01

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P 111005Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0865

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 0112

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B. DENKTASH INSISTED THAT ONLY ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION IS BI-REGIONAL FEDERATED STATE. HE WAS SLIGHTLY OPTIMISTIC AS RESULT CLERIDES' ACCEPTANCE OF FEDERAL TERM IN THIS WEEK'S ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, VP DID NOT OFFER MUCH HOPE ON QUESTION OF REFUGEE RETURN, STATING FLATLY THAT TURKS WOULD NOT ACCEPT SITUATION IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE A MINORITY IN ZONE THEY CONTROL. VP DID NOT GO INTO SPECIFICS ON TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION BUT DID SAY THAT ISLAND'S ECONOMY MUST BE MAINTAINED AS SINGLE UNIT WITH COOPERATION BETWEEN COMMUNITIES.

C. DENKTASH ADAMANTLY MAINTAINED THAT CUT-OFF OF ARMS TO TURKEY WOULD BE MISTAKE FOR UNITED STATES. REPEATED STANDARD TURKISH LINE THAT MILITARY AID NOT ONE-WAY STREET; ARGUED THAT IF U.S. FAILED PROVIDE MILITARY EQUIPMENT TURKEY WOULD BE FORCED SEEK NEW ALLIES. (DENKTASH ATTRIBUTED LATTER SENTIMENT TO RPP LEADER ECEVIT ALSO). VP TOLD CODEL FLATLY THAT ARMS CUT-OFF WOULD NOT MAKE TURKS MORE TRACTABLE. HE POINTEDLY REFUSED LINK ISSUE OF MILITARY AID TO TURKISH NEGOTIATING POSITION BEYOND STATING THAT SOLUTION WOULD NOT BE FOUND BY FEBRUARY 5.

D. TOWARDS END OF DISCUSSION, DENKTASH SHOWED CODEL PHOTO ALBUM OF ALLEGED GREEK CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING WEAPONS OF U.S. ORIGIN. HE ASKED CODEL WHETHER ARMS CUT-OFF SHOULD APPLY TO GREECE AS WELL AS TURKEY. CONGRESSMEN AVOIDED CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 NICOSI 00112 02 OF 02 111148Z

DIRECT ANSWER.

8. CALL ON CLERIDES. HOUSE PRESIDENT BROKE NO NEW GROUND, GAVE GENERAL BRIEFING (USING MAPS) ON NEGOTIATING POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES. IN RESPONSE DIRECT CODEL QUESTIONS, CLERIDES SAID: (1) HE EXPECTED "NOTHING SPECTACULAR" FROM TURKISH SIDE PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 5 DEADLINE; (2) FORMAL AGREEMENT COULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE NEGOTIATED IN LESS THAN YEAR'S TIME; (3) PRESENT GOT PROBABLY INCAPABLE OF MAKING CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE SOLUTION; (4) HIS PRESENT TERMS OF REFERENCE ENABLE HIM TO OPEN SUBSTANTIVE TALKS BUT NOT TO ARRIVE AT SOLUTION. FOR LATTER PURPOSE, CLERIDES SAID THAT FURTHER ATHENS-NICOSIA MEETING WOULD BE NEEDED; HE IMPLIED DOUBT THAT SUCH MEETING WOULD PRODUCE ANOTHER "AGREED COMMON LINE". CLERIDES DRUBBED HISTORICAL HABIT OF BOTH SIDES IN MAKING INTRANSIGENT PUBLIC STATEMENT ON NEGOTIATION. CONTRARY TO CONVENTIONAL WISDOM OF HIS COLLEAGUES, CLERIDES DID NOT THINK THAT A BI-ZONAL SOLUTION WOULD NECESSARILY LEAD TO PARTITION;

MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON BEHAVIOR OF GREEK SIDE, SPECIFICALLY WHETHER IT RESUMED ENOSIST DRIVE. ASKED TO ELABORATE POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO REFUGEE PROBLEM, CLERIDES SHOWED PLAN WHEREBY SOME ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND TO ONE HUNDRED TWENTY THOUSAND GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD RETURN TO VAROSHA (NEW FAMAGUSTA), PLUS AREA SOUTH OF NEW FAMAGUSTA ROAD. CODEL OPINED THAT SUCH STEP WOULD HAVE GREAT INFLUENCE ON CONGRESSIONAL DECISION WHETHER TO EXTEND FEBRUARY 5 CUT-OFF DEADLINE.

9. VISIT TO LARNACA REFUGEE CAMPS. ACCOMPANIED BY FORMIN DIRGEN VENIAMIN AND REFUGEE RELIEF SPECIALIST, CODEL THEN VISITED TWO TENT CAMPS IN LARNACA AND NEARBY ORMIDHIA VILLAGE IN SBA. THERE WERE EMOTIONAL SCENES AT BOTH CAMPS AS REFUGEES EXPLAINED THEIR PLIGHT. FULL PRESS AND TV COVERAGE PRESENT.

10. CODEL DEPARTED AKROTIRI SBA FOR ATHENS AT 1520 REPEAT 1520Z JANUARY 10.

11. COMMENT: IN PRIVATE TALKS WITH EMBOFFS, CODEL TOOK HARD LINE ON STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF FEBRUARY 5 CUT-OFF OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, ABSENT SIGNIFICANT TURK MOVE WHICH WOULD RELIEVE PROBLEMS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS. BOTH CONGRESSMEN INSISTED THAT TURKISH TROOP WITHDRAWAL, EVEN MAJOR ONE OF 20,000, WOULD NOT MEET THEIR CRITERION. CODEL OPINED THAT CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE
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PAGE 03 NICOSI 00112 02 OF 02 111148Z

HAD, ALBEIT TARDILY, ALERTED SECRETARY KISSINGER TO MAJOR PROBLEM BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION AND CAPITOL HILL. THEY APPEARED AT TIMES TO SEE FEBRUARY 5 CUT-OFF MORE IN TERMS ITS VALUE IN SENSITIZING EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO CONGRESSIONAL ASSERTION OF FOREIGN-POLICY PREROGATIVE THAN IN BRINGING IMPROVEMENT TO CYPRUS PROBLEM OR ADVANCING U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS IN REGION.
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